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Adlai Stevenson: New Search for Peace

New Republic

The Hot-and-Cold War of HENRY LUCE

Should the U.S. Fight Russia?

LIFE'S 20 Million Readers Still Don't Know

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T. R. B. *Washington Wire*

Sir Winston Churchill is making good recovery from a slight paralytic stroke on the left side. It occurred June 24, but his illness was not publicly revealed till three days later. It came as the battleship Vanguard was waiting to leave Britain June 30, to take him to the proposed Bermuda conference which he ardently hoped to make the forerunner of a top-level, Big Four conference to break through the Iron Curtain and reduce world tension. Churchill is 78. It is now doubtful that he will ever attend such a conference though he is clear of mind and firm of speech. He is more likely to accept a peerage and give way to Eden. He visited Balmoral last week, prior to the Queen's long November-to-May Australian visit. The British constitution makes it difficult to replace Prime Ministers in the Monarch's absence, so the change is likely to come either before she departs or next year. If Eden succeeds Churchill, he is apt to ask for the dissolution of Parliament and a national election sometime in 1954 to get the traditional vote of confidence for his new government even though conservatives stay in power.

After six weeks of semi-seclusion in Colorado, President Eisenhower flew back briefly to Washington and started out again for an intermittent fall campaign of speech-making. Long meditations in the Rockies may have produced a prayerful decision on the fateful choice, whether to put a balanced budget and tax cuts ahead of adequate national defenses. Even as Ike flew back to Washington came one of those parallel developments with which we are now familiar: Moscow announced completion of successful new atomic tests, and the Defense Department announced big new cut-backs in aircraft engine contracts. It was Stevenson who said the GOP policy of toughness to Russia consisted of saying, "One false move from you guys, and we will cut the defense budget by another billion dollars."

Democrats were exultant at Chicago. We looked in on the show, and it seemed like Old Home Week. The carefree grin of Harry Truman has to be seen to be believed. He simply can't get over the wonderful discovery that people like him and Margaret and the Boss. The whole nation is pleased at the good time he's having, and the way he has shed his cares. Then there was Sam Rayburn, a tower of strength in the internecine Southern feuding. And there was Adlai —and suddenly we were living the 1952 election over again. Frankly we don't know what Stevenson's secret is. He's a short bald man in a double-breasted gray suit that hides a slight paunch, with a trick of wetting his lips at the end of paragraphs. He is intellectual till it hurts, and he may never be President because his appeal is cerebral and not visceral. And yet no sooner does he begin to speak than the audience begins purring, and at his peak the crowd is apt to be spellbound. Stevenson plans to stay for the time being on his Libertyville (Ill.) farm and open a law office in Chicago, not so much to get clients as to have a place to hang his hat.

The regional meeting of Republican women which opened at the end of the week in the same Chicago hotel thought up some pretty good taunts to fling at the departed Democrats. They were fine taunts. We like Republican women very much, in the round. They struck us as earnest, well-to-do, God-fearing ladies with a sense of social responsibility, out to save America from creeping socialism, and about 20 pounds lighter and 20 years younger than the DAR's. We couldn't help the feeling that they were worried. At the session on campaign tactics one put up her problem to Bernard Lamb, field organizer of the GOP Congressional Committee, who was there to advise them. "We held a rally," she said, "and set up a tent—and nobody came." What to do? Mr. Lamb complimented her for trying. He made a comment that attracted some newspaper attention. The ladies should not hold their meeting "at the country club," he said. He added: "Meet the women on the other side of the tracks with five dirty-faced children."

What did it all accomplish? Stevenson came to the rally with his role uncertain and his man Steve Mitchell facing ouster. He departed the ackowledged party spokesman on foreign affairs, and Mitchell was given a $25,000 salary, retroactive to January. Stevenson showed that he will use every pressure from now on to keep the Republicans international just as Truman will use every pressure to keep the Democrats liberal.

The great American foreign policy fallacy today is that we can force the Chinese Reds to hand over to us at the conference table what they refused to yield on the battlefield without making any concessions at all in turn. In other words, we won the war. This is the policy of being "tough" to the Communists—which, in its extreme interpretation, is alienating our allies. Stevenson in effect deplored the attitude, and there was nothing in the unexpectedly mild and persuasive Dulles speech at the UN which contradicted what Stevenson said. Yet the "keynoters" sent out to speak before the Republican women at Chicago excoriated Stevenson. Senator Homer Ferguson (R, Mich.) brought out with him a speech written within the GOP National Committee branding Stevenson's talk as "soft" to Russia and generally "alarming." Ferguson thrice called the Stevenson speech "appeasement."

The question is whether Eisenhower has the political skill and the iron will to control the super-nationalists of his own party. All signs indicated that the Republicans at Chicago felt there was one more election victory in the "soft-to-Communists" issue. What interested us particularly, in turn, was the well-nigh universal Democratic feeling that Ike, for all his popularity, is making a flop of his Administration. Ike's Administration, they seemed to think, had never got off the golf course.

Notes: We think there is a big future in America for Lavrenti P. Beria, deposed Soviet leader, if Joe McCarthy can get hold of him. When you consider that the North Korean who delivered a Russian MIG at Seoul may get $100,000, the financial stake for Beria might be in the millions. Indeed, if he gave himself up to the Senator direct, he could probably be his best man.

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Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

The Machines Failed To Deliver

ONCE AGAIN, the voters of New York City were stunned by their own behavior when, on Primary Day, September 15, they chose Robert F. Wagner Jr. as the Democratic Party nominee for mayor over the incumbent Vincent R. Impellitteri.

The vote came out all wrong, according to all the experts, both professional and amateur. The universal theory was that Impellitteri would *certainly* win if the primary vote was small; Wagner *might* win if the vote was big. The turning point was set at 600,000. As it turned out, the vote was small and Wagner won by the incredible margin of almost two to one.

Of New York's more than two million enrolled Democrats, only some 500,000 bothered to cast a vote on Primary Day. This is about 25 percent; the remaining 75 percent of the eligible Democrats did not bother to vote. The final count was 350,000 for Wagner and 181,203 for Impellitteri.

The most significant fact in this contest was the total inability of the Democratic "machine" to bring the voters to the polls. The primary battle was bitter, more bitter than New Yorkers can recall. The Bronx and Manhattan organizations, backing Wagner, and the Queens and Brooklyn organizations, backing Impellitteri, tossed in every cent and every man they could to win the primary. All this huffing and puffing produced a measly 500,000 votes out of two million eligibles. This marks an all-time low in the power of the "organization" to turn out the faithfuls on Primary Day, the one day in the year when the clubhouse cabal is really supposed to rule. In 1925, some 50 percent of the eligible Democrats voted in the primary; in 1937, some 37 percent of the eligibles, now it is down to 25 percent.

The real weakness of the machine is most clearly revealed in the Borough breakdown of the voting results. In Queens, where James Roe is unquestioned boss of the Democratic Party, his candidate, Impellitteri, was defeated by Wagner. Roe's man for Borough President was handily overwhelmed by the Wagner-slate man for the same post. In Brooklyn, where Kenny Sutherland is boss, his candidate, Impellitteri, received 74,478 votes while Wagner received 114,783 votes, a majority of 40,305 votes.

What was true at the borough level was also true at the district (ward) level. In Manhattan's Fourth Assembly District, one of the most machine-ridden in New York, where the leadership bolted to Impellitteri, Wagner carried the district by better than two to one.

Wagner's victory was not a case where hundreds of thousands of voters turned out in the primaries to overwhelm a powerful machine. All in all, only 350,000 voters out of two million eligibles voted for Wagner. His victory was due to the total inability of the majority of the bosses, who had endorsed Impy, to turn out anything even resembling a real vote.

Any Advice?

Impy's stunning defeat reveals several other facts about New York voters. First, Gotham voters are as fickle as they are free-wheeling: three years ago Impy swept the city as a great "independent"; now with the open backing of the majority of the leaders he went down to dismal defeat. Second, the New York voters still respond to the "liberal" call, embodied in the words New Deal, Wagner, Roosevelt, Lehman, Harriman. Jim Farley's endorsement of Impy got the latter no votes in the New York primary. Not even the much exploited paragraph of Bernard Baruch's about Impy's good stewardship of the metropolis brought votes.

Wagner's victory over Impellitteri leaves unresolved the more decisive matter of New York's mayor—to be chosen in November. A great question mark is written over the one and a half million enrolled Democrats who showed no great enthusiasm for either Impellitteri or Wagner. How will they vote on Election Day? And how will the other one million voters, not enrolled in the Democratic Party, vote?

The two leading contenders, Wagner and Rudolph Halley, nominee of the Liberal Party, have an almost identical voting record in the New York Board of Estimate over the last two years. The significant difference is the fact that Wagner is still the candidate picked by the late Ed Flynn, boss of the Bronx, and Carmine DeSapio, boss of Tammany Hall, while Halley remains as the militant opponent of all machine rule, especially Tammany.

Although early reports had it that Impellitteri would run as an "independent" even if he should lose the Democratic Primary, there is a chance that the degree of his defeat may change his mind.

Harold Riegelman, the Republican nominee, has been running an expensive campaign directed against what he calls the "labor czar" behind Halley. His hope is that in a split field, he may squeak through if his effort is sufficiently well oiled.

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The Singer and the Song

WITHIN THE Department of Defense, civilian chiefs join with the military to chorus "this nation must and will have have an army, navy and air force second to none." But are there differing opinions as to the constitution of such a force, its proportions, equipment and maintenance? Do, for example, the new Joint Chiefs of Staff subscribe to Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson's motto of "more defense for less money." These questions receive no official answer other than "it is too soon to say."

The old Joint Chiefs retired criticizing "economy first" measures. Their successors are now "re-examining the entire defense structure" and have not yet taken a position. Yet the new Joint Chiefs and the old share a common background of training and experience, and the problems to be solved are the same problems. Spokesmen for the JCS admit that there is little chance of any drastic change in policy resulting from the re-examination. Some shifts in emphasis, yes; radical changes, no. So it seems likely that the new Joint Chiefs will share some of the misgivings voiced by Generals Vandenberg and Bradley.

In the meantime, the 1955 budget estimate of the Department of Defense is overdue at the Bureau of the Budget. The delay probably reflects the dilemma facing Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson. In establishing the 1954 defense budget, Wilson had only to satisfy Budget Director Dodge. He ignored the Joint Chiefs and eliminated the examination process which usually determines the amount requested, and set a figure Dodge would approve. Later he expressed surprise that almost the entire reduction came out of Air Force funds. This year, Wilson is faced with a Republican-appointed JCS presided over by a man he personally admires—Admiral Arthur W. Radford. And Dodge already has issued a blanket directive requiring 1955 budget requests to be lower than 1954 appropriations. If Wilson accedes to Dodge's demand, he will almost certainly find himself at odds with Radford. The new chairman of the JCS is reportedly convinced that stronger emphasis—and money—must be given continental air-defense. Such a program will be expensive. And the Air Force already is facing the probability that aircraft deliveries this year will exceed what was expected and provided for in the 1954 budget by $1 billion.

Another potential Radford-Wilson-Dodge controversy concerns the "mobilization base." Radford is on record as favoring the "broad mobilization base" policy under which defense contracts are given to many plants in order to maintain a vast production potential. But Wilson already has done a great deal to concentrate production in a few large factories. Wilson's policy costs less and undoubtedly pleases Dodge. But, sooner or later, unless Radford changes his position—and the pressure to maintain peace on "the team" will be formidable—Wilson will have to choose between Dodge's brand of economy and Radford's brand of defense.

Lucille Ball

SEVENTEEN YEARS ago, Lucille Ball registered to vote as a Communist. Without her consent, she was named to the California State Central Committee of the Communist Party. Witnesses before the House Committee on Un-American Activities testified that, although she did not attend, Communist meetings were held in her home. Yet everyone still loves Lucy.

Like hundreds in the entertainment world, Lucille Ball was denounced as a "red" by some amateur sleuth. For most of these others such a charge, even rumored, has meant "blacklisting." If the accused is small fry, he often knows nothing about the charge or the rumor until he can no longer find work. His employer has tried him and found him "controversial." There is no appeal.

But in Lucille Ball's case, the accusation was kept secret for a year and investigated; every effort was made to obtain her version of the story. The facts and her explanation were released simultaneously. Result: her sponsor, her employer and her public have stood by her.

The handling of the case, the fact that such fairness is exceptional, and its outcome seem to indicate a moral for employers, investigators and the general public.

At least, sponsors may now stop flying into a veritable panic whenever an organization waves a private loyalty file and threatens to boycott their products.

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"Birds of a Feather"

THE SAME thread usually runs through the whole fabric of a national administration. Now that Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay has shown his lack of interest in protecting waterpower sites, the next resource to be denied traditional safeguards has been the migratory wildfowl of the Atlantic and Pacific "flyways."

McKay recently issued regulations which lengthen the legal season on many birds and add another hour for shooting at dusk, when birds are particularly vulnerable. Such shorebirds as Wilson's snipe have been taken off the protected list and bared to the blasts of hunters.

The National Audubon Society, pointing out that the continent's wildfowl population is dwindling, has protested McKay's policies in vain. The new rules, says the Audubon Society, "would seem to undermine the fundamental basis on which such regulations have heretofore been determined."

When McKay fired Dr. Albert M. Day as director of the Fish and Wildlife Service, it was rumored that two groups had operated behind the scenes to make Day their victim—(1) Alaskan salmon packers and (2) members of plush hunting clubs who want to fire away at more birds from their comfortable duck blinds.

Evidently the hunters are now to collect their reward—at the expense of our water birds. Day, whom McKay fired, was a career biologist. His work for the federal government dated from 1918. McKay, of course, had the convenient excuse that Day was registered as a Democrat.

No one thought to point out that Ira N. Gabrielson served for many years under both FDR and Harry Truman as chief of the country's wildlife agency. Gabrielson, likewise a career biologist, is a lifelong Republican and a brother of Guy Gabrielson, ex-chairman of the Republican National Committee. But he knew and loved birds and animals, and that was all that mattered to his Democratic superiors.

The new Republican "crusade" for good government, of course, allows no such deviation. Dr. Day has been replaced as head of the Fish and Wildlife Service by a Crown-Zellerbach Paper Company public-relations man, whom the New York *Times* has described as a "political appointee."

Don't Go In the Water

A CAPSULE version of President Eisenhower's public power policy has just been enunciated by Clarence A. Davis, Solicitor for the Department of Interior. He told the Public Utilities Association of the Virginias that Congress has said to them, "you are not authorized to jump in swimming in this big power pool, despite the allure of the swimming hole . . . but if you happen to be plowing some land or cutting a tree along the edge and fall in (while you are supposed to be surprised to find yourself wet), there is no objection to your taking a little swim. . . . " Mr. Davis added "It is not much wonder that there has been some plowing pretty close to the edge. . . . "

Quiet Struggle

SINCE JUNE some of our major universities have been quietly fighting a Department of Defense effort to usurp their control over professors and other personnel.

In June, 42 universities were asked to renew contracts by which they supply the US Armed Forces Institute with correspondence courses enabling military personnel on active duty to earn college credits. The new contracts, however, had been changed. The Department of Defense now required case histories of each university employee benefitting directly or indirectly from USAFI funds, and reserved the right to require dismissal of any such employee without specifying why. As authority on these stipulations, the Department of Defense cited a clause Congress has added to most appropriation bills: a clause which forbids the use of federal funds to pay the salaries of any persons who advocate the overthrow of our government by force, or who belong to an organization advocating such action. The vague wording of the new USAFI contract, in effect, placed every employee of each participating school under government control, for USAFI funds go into the general treasury and each employee benefits from them. Since no specific charge would be made, no effective appeal was possible.

Some universities approved the contracts in a routine manner. Others were alerted in time by Dr. Robert B. Browne, Dean of University Extension, University of Illinois. Browne wrote to each member of the National University Extension Association and pointed out that once the principle and the vague wording of the USAFI contract were accepted, it could be extended to every program under which schools earned government funds. If it were extended, such programs as the "GI Bill of Rights," Naval ROTC, and non-classified government research would bring every school in the country under federal control.

Some 25 universities objected to the wording of the new contract. The American Council on Education took up the matter and conferred with Maj.-Gen. Harlan N. Hartness, director of USAFI. The General was adamant; USAFI, he felt, could get along very well without the protesting schools. He claimed the full support of his superiors. Discussion with his superiors supported this claim, so, convinced that the Defense Department hierarchy did not understand the real significance of the issue, the Council made it public.

As the full implications of the matter became clear, the Association of Land Grant Colleges protested directly to Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson. By the time Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower John A. Hannah returned from Korea, protest had reached such proportions that a compromise seemed required. Early in September, Hannah met with the Council on Education and assured them that, at the minimum, USAFI contracts would be reworded to specify that discharge of university personnel could be demanded only "for security reasons." This would make appeal possible since there would be a charge, however vague, to answer. It seems, however, that the universities have settled for very little.

Natural Gas Hike

NATURAL GAS companies have asked the Federal Power Commission for rate increases totalling over $170 million. Under FPC's first two rulings, the United Fuel Gas Company was allowed to raise its charges by at least $10 million, and the Texas Gas Transmission Company by nearly $8.5 million a year. More important, the permissible rate of profit was set at six-and-one-quarter and six percent. Last year, Harry Truman's FPC tried to lower the rate to five-and-three-quarters and five-and-one-half percent.

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Dispatch from Morocco

FRENCH "ENLIGHTENED" COLONIALISM

FEZ: THE BERBER people live in their newly forged cities, like the poor of Spain, disinherited from their own land. The romantic writer has pictured these incredible native places, the silence of the hard-faced, dark-skinned Bedouin astride his donkey or squatting immobile in the shadow of a fondouk. He has not seen the smashed remnants of a feudal system washing against the industrial ramparts of a superimposed French society, an industrial proletariat devoid of tribe, religion and caste. Yet the future of Morocco lives in the spark that can ignite the heart of these city masses.

The New City of Fez is a model protectorate in the classical Roman sense—a Nietzschean dream without culture. It gives one an idea of what the world would have looked like if Germany had won the war. A mere 14,000 French have created for their exclusive use one of the most lovely and modern cities ever built. Boulevards are 60 to 80 feet wide, immaculately clean. Alternating with white buildings of ultra-modern design are luxuriant parks and squares lined with royal palms and clipped hedges. While a few hundred yards away the teeming, stinking life of Old Fez crowds hundreds of thousands of natives into a medina and mellah devoid of a single foot of modern plumbing. This is indeed the picture of Superman, a good idea gone mad; it may even be one picture of the future.

SALE: French arguments for their autocratic reign may be reduced to two: "the natives are vicious and stupid, they are ungrateful" or, on a higher level, "look at all the good we have done, we have brought them civilization, we have increased their standard of living." The first is below contempt; the second has a sting because it is true that an "enlightened" colonialism—*i.e.* one uneasy and hence willing to compromise the profit motive after a very successful margin has been attained—can indirectly accrue benefits to the natives.

But the white European comes for profits and profits are made from a cheap, non-unionized, "inferior race" labor market. Usually the worst men come to the colonies: the failures, the degenerates, those hoping to make a "quick kill." And the administration panders to them because here, unlike home, the working people have no voice. So we find the French moving away from the original towns and building new cities, inversely ghettoizing the native population. We find them paid many times what the natives receive for the same jobs; we find them restricting Moroccans from the hotels and restaurants of their own country. This policy, sooner or later, is bound to ricochet. Force may be legitimatized into right through time, but the French started their occupation of Morocco in 1907 and only completed it in the middle 30's. Their arguments are particularly farcical now that Libya has received its independence.

CASABLANCA: This city is booming at such a rate that the population has doubled, approaching the million mark, since the last tourist brochure was issued. I was told that the building in Casablanca alone exceeded that in *all* France last year. Long lists in the French newspapers beseech young men to come and get hired.

A certain complex of conditions conjoin to create the boom. Most important is cheap labor—hundreds of thousands of Berber tribesmen swarming in, creating new slums so atrocious they are indescribable. On top of this, there is capital in search of markets—French capital "paralyzed" at home because of high taxes and high labor costs. To complete the picture, French imperial policy has kept local taxes down to an irreducible minimum. To some extent this "idyllic" picture can continue only so long as "radicals" or nationalists don't disturb the labor population and increase labor costs.

What will happen to these detribalized Berbers when they become conscious of their political power? I suspect either their traditional native rulers will betray them with Pan-Islam, or desperate new native leadership will betray them into that still bigger hoax, Soviet domination. The French are doing everything to encourage these alternatives; learning nothing from Indo-China, paralyzed by their own thrashings they have banned all native politics. Instead of letting the educated Moroccan enter the administration and building up a corps with both sentimental and economic attachments to the French, they suppress equally the good and bad aspects of native leadership.

KSAR ES SOUK: This is a military region, conquered by the French less than 20 years ago, and the natives don't speak until spoken to; then they salute respectfully.

The town is a military encampment. The streets are gravel ruts. At the main bar the poor, rotting French soldiers stand drinking all day; they are the European population of 400. There is nothing to do but drink, sweat and curse. The blazing sun, lack of toilet facilities, whisky and filthy natives begin to seep into the blood stream. You begin to think like the French. . . .

It is a subtle thing, the slavery known as colonial policy. It is perhaps more dangerous for the master than the slave; it may even reverse the roles in a slow corroding process. In Morocco, the French have become prisoners. They know the land is prosperous, the climate beneficent, the Moors neither sordid nor stupid. More democratic, in the real personal sense of the dignity of each individual life, than the native rulers, the French could play a great part in the liberation of these millions of Moroccans from their feudal cramp and do so with a respectable credit balance in their pockets. They know and yet cannot. And they are in the process of losing another colony.

D. M. FRIEDENBERG

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A JOURNAL OF OPINION New Republic

Editorial: If Human Extinction is the Issue . . .

ALL SIGNS POINT to a meeting of the leaders of Britain, France, the Soviet Union and the US. All nations wonder: what will the US ask for, and be ready to yield? Two spokesmen have replied — John Foster Dulles for the Administration; Adlai Stevenson for the opposition. Both urge agreement as the alternative to war.

The necessity for agreement was stated most forcefully by Dulles:

"Physical scientists have now found means which, if they are developed, can wipe life off the surface of this planet.

"There are plenty of problems in the world, many of them interconnected. But there is no problem which compares with this central, universal problem of saving the human race from extinction."

But how are we to be saved? Given today's tensions neither Russia nor America will undertake early disarmaament. And yet, as their atomic stockpiles mount, the threat of a sudden knockout attack that these weapons create may itself give rise to such tremendous tensions, such well-grounded fears, that before long all the laborious efforts to talk things over in Cambodia or to straighten things out in Trieste may not deflect the two sides an inch in the march towards atomic war.

The Soviet leaders have shown no outward signs of alarm. But as their capacity to devastate us and their fears of devastation grow, they are unlikely to place more trust in agreements. In turn, our President is preparing to inform Americans of the facts about atomic attack. Desirable as candor is, in the absence of a rational hope, knowledge can generate extremism as well as reason.

For this reason there is need as Stevenson argues, "to confer when we can; to reduce tensions and restore hope when we can." But while Stevenson and Dulles are explicit on what we want from the Russians they are silent when it comes to the equally important question of what the Russians demand that we are ready to give.

First on Dulles' agendas for negotiation is Korea. The United States, he declares, has no desire "to use Korea for its own purposes." China and Russia must similarly forswear all ambitions there.

This may be popular doctrine in the Senate. But if "human extinction" is really the issue, and demands realism, then it is less impressive. For the mutual renunciation of all ambitions in Korea conceals in its formal equality a very real inequality in demands. Korea is certainly not a vital frontier of the United States. But it is a vital frontier for China and Russia. Korea is the historic invasion road from Japan to Manchuria, and China fought the US and the UN to assert her vital interest there. Why should she relinquish for nothing what she lost a half million soldiers to gain?

What can we give in return for Korean unification? The first item on the agenda of the political conference, placed there by the Communists, is the withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea. The Communists achieved this once by agreement in 1948. And if they come to the political conference, it will be primarily to achieve it again. Yet, given guarantees against invasion or rearmament, the withdrawal of all foreign troops may also be in our interest. If on this basis alone the Communists offer to trade the withdrawal of American forces for the gradual unification of Korea, the problem will be not the conflict of Communism and democracy but the intractability of President Rhee.

Because China is vitally concerned in Korea it seems more probable that a higher price must be paid for the extension of Rhee's dominion to the Communist border. The second demand of the Communist side will almost certainly concern Formosa, which we linked to Korea through the Seventh Fleet. Formosa in turn forces on us the unwelcome question *what is our China policy?* Are we planning to come to terms with the world's largest nation, to determine its intentions, to influence its relations with Russia and to promote its willingness to live in peace? Or do we prefer to harass the Chinese Government without really threatening it; feeding, clothing, equipping and training in the Nationalist Army, a dagger long enough to draw blood but too short to inflict serious wounds.

Human extinction may be the prospect before us. It is an exaggeration but not an untruth to suggest that its consideration takes second place, in both our parties, to concern for Chiang Kai-shek.

A further demand of the Communists negotiators may center in Japan. Both China and Russia have suffered defeat by Japan. China with her extended coast, Russia with her tenuous supply line to her maritime provinces, fear Japanese rearmament today. More urgently, they desire the evacuation of American troops from Japan which has served as the base of operations of our war against them in Korea.

In turn, we are committed to preventing a military invasion of Japan. We cannot evacuate our troops until Japan herself possesses an armed force adequate for self-

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defense. We and the Japanese are now creating this force. It will possess heavy equipment, and an interceptor air defense, but no bombing force or navy or troop-lift capability that could permit Japan to wage an overseas war. That is all that we plan, and all that the Japanese will accept today. We can lose nothing, and the Soviet and Chinese governments may gain in a sense of security by an agreement to limit Japanese rearmament.

Second on Dulles' agenda for negotiation is Germany. We demand the unification of Germany — a very heavy defeat for Russia now that the anti-Soviet convictions of the Eastern and Western Zones are clearly confirmed. *What are we prepared to give that the Russians want?*

Dulles concedes that something must be given:

"The Russian people . . . have not forgotten what their nation suffered from Hitlerite Germany . . . . They expect and they are entitled to assurance against repetition."

But what assurances will Dulles give? He answers: Germany's inclusion in the European Defense Community. This will protect Russia because "community arrangements are the least likely to be aggressive."

That is true, and Vishinsky comments in reply that far from regarding EDC as an assurance, his government bitterly opposes it as an aggressive, anti-Soviet force. Germany's inclusion in EDC is not enough.

EUROPEAN leaders at least understand this. Churchill has proposed a new pact, based on Locarno. Spaak has called in addition for a demilitarized zone on both sides of Germany's eastern frontier. Adenauer is apparently ready to bind Germany within EDC, to garrison no troops between the Elbe and the Oder if a corresponding area east of the Oder is demilitarized.

German rearmament, as the violence of Vishinsky's comments indicates, is an issue on which Soviet leaders are fearful and sensitive. But these assurances are probably insufficient to persuade Russia to abandon the factories and uranium mines of Eastern Germany. In addition, the Soviet leaders understand that as soon as they retreat from the Eastern Zone, the equally large areas of pre-war Germany which Russia transferred to Poland in exchange for Polish territory will be brought into dispute. The Kremlin will not openly insist that the West accept the Oder-Neisse line as the price of unity between the Eastern and Western Zones, because to do so would be to further antagonize German nationalism. But the Soviet leaders may obstruct agreement until we and the Germans accept as permanent the present Eastern frontier.

For the Kremlin, the principal incentive in reaching a German settlement is once again to obtain the evacuation of American troops. If all foreign troops leave a united Germany, the Red Army will withdraw a hundred miles east to the Oder-Neisse line, but where will the six US divisions now in Germany rest their heads? Belgium, the Netherlands and Northern France cannot quarter them. If they pull out, the British and French divisions will come out also, leaving no force behind to defend Germany. Until the EDC treaty is adopted and its German component established, or until EDC is scrapped and an independent German army is undertaken, the Pentagon will resist an agreement on Germany, should the Kremlin change its mind.

Third on Dulles' agenda is Indo-China. And while he and Stevenson assert the necessity of agreement, both men maintain that in Indo-China there is no geographical or political basis for compromise: the war must go on until the Viet-Minh, or the French, collapse.

Dulles deals lastly with the control of atomic weapons. He declares wisely that while our proposals are sound, they are not inflexible. We insist only that any proposals meet one fundamental test:

"There must be effective safeguards to ensure the compliance of all nations, and to give adequate warning of possible evasions and violations."

This was the original purpose of the Lilienthal-Acheson plan. But this plan was encumbered by insistence on international ownership, staging, and the amendment of the veto power. There is some hope that between Dulles' "one fundamental test" and the Soviet proposals common ground might be discovered. The breaking point in negotiations, as Vishinsky indicates, would come on the question: *what happens to existing stockpiles of atomic bombs?*

Where then are the bargains to be struck that can prevent "human extinction?" Bargains take two and if Dulles offers little by way of reply, Vishinsky offers nothing. His UN answer to Dulles, proposing an immediate prohibition of atomic weapons and a one-third cut in military forces, is ancient propaganda; (an analysis of the irrelevancies of this exact proposal will be found in the *New Republic* of December 3, 1951). His assurance that "There is no reason to fear because the Soviet Union unswervingly follows a policy of peace" is almost unendurable in its refusal to consider the imperatives that bind us. The only hint of negotiable issues in Vishinsky's entire speech is his pointed attack on the garrisoning of US troops overseas (and it is to that point that this editorial has been written).

Yet "human extinction" is too large a cause for Vishinsky to adjourn. If, as Dulles maintains, human extinction is the issue, does it not demand boldness and vision that are lacking in US policy today? On the immediate issue of the Korean conference the US is uncompromising, and we think rightly so. On long-range issues the world looks to the US with more reason for freedom of action and in vain. The UN was informed:

"Governments which exert themselves without reserve to the creation of even more powerful methods of mass destruction and which at the same time are dilatory, evasive or negative towards curing the situations which could bring these destructive forces into play, such governments cannot but stand morally condemned."

Ironically, if this passage were not identified, many free peoples might conclude that it was spoken not by Dulles about Russia, but by one of their own leaders about the United States.

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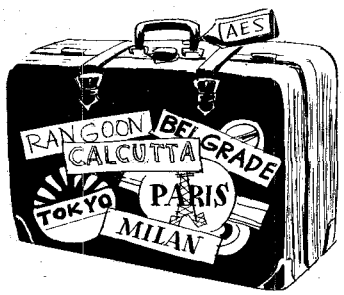
A New Search for Peace

Our strength, their troubles, the world's fears compel a new approach to Russia and China

by Adlai Stevenson

WE ARE ON the eve of great decisions in Asia. Korea is the first step. Will Red China yield at the conference table what it fought to prevent on the battlefield? It would seem to me unlikely if we adopt arbitrary positions in advance and our room for maneuver and negotiation is limited. I hope our leaders will not be prisoners of domestic political propaganda or hobbled by inflexibility.

Personally I am skeptical of Red China's intentions, but when we search for settlements we have to search, and when we negotiate we have to have something to negotiate with as well as for. Many of our friends think China wants peace and trade above all, as they themselves do. With so much at stake in Asia—the unification of Korea, Formosa, peace and security in Indo-China—it would seem to me that we owe it to ourselves as well as to our friends at least to find out if we can, what Communist China's ultimate intentions are. . . .



The difficulties are many and the hazards great everywhere. But things are better. There is hope in the air, born of America's postwar policy of assistance and resistance, of growing strength and self-confidence, and of Stalin's death followed by shifting winds from Moscow, trade in Korea, rebellion in Eastern Europe, troubles behind the Iron Curtain.

But the world is weary; there is universal anxiety and impatience to ease the tensions, to explore every possibility of settlements by conference and negotiation. The Soviet will exploit discord in our ranks at every opportunity in order to divide and enfeeble the grand alliance of the free. There is uncertainty abroad about America and our objective. Is our objective to discover through negotiation ways to relax tensions, or is it intensification of the "Cold War"; is it co-existence or extermination of Communist power?

Some of the misunderstandings may seem incredible to us, but it is well to try to see ourselves as others see us. Many think we are intemperate, inflexible and frightened. And people who have lived in insecurity for centuries don't understand how there can be insecurity and fear in America which has never been bombed or lived in thralldom.

Also, like ourselves, proud nations resent any real or suspected interference in their domestic affairs. Nor can they reconcile our exhortations about the peril with deep cuts in our defense budget. And everywhere people think they recognize the dominant mood of America in what is called "McCarthyism," now a worldwide word. Inquisitions, purges, book-burning, repression and fear have obscured the bright vision of the land of the free and the home of the brave.

Most of our friends want and need trade, not aid. There is an uneasy feeling that the United States is showing signs of economic nationalism, of a drift toward no trade and no aid. But our friends must trade to live, and not many are going to go hungry, I suspect, to prove to us how anti-Communist they are. . . .

Looking to the future, it seemed to me clearer than ever that the economic, military and political integration of Europe is the best hope for balancing Soviet power and for enabling the states of Europe to exercise a powerful, positive and peaceful influence in the modern world. . . .

I think our government should now bend every effort to encourage and hasten federation. Yet we will only impede progress if we rely on threats or are insensitive to many difficulties and basic fears. One is the natural French fear of a federal institution which may be dominated by the Germans. Another is that Russia will prevent the reunification of Germany if Germany joins the West because of the Soviet fear, alleged at least, that a united Europe and a European army is an aggressive bloc endangering Russia.

So we must surmount a thicket of difficulty; we must bring the discussion back to the level where once again it challenges the imagination and the hopes of all Europe. We must think afresh; and, I believe, in terms of a European system of durable assurances of non-aggression—for Russia as well as France, for Germany and the rest of us.

If the Soviet Union rejects assurances of non-aggression, if the Red Army will not withdraw behind its borders, if an Austrian peace treaty and German unification are impossible except on the Soviet's terms, then we

Mr. Stevenson's views are taken from his Chicago address of September 15, 1953.

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will have clearly fixed the responsibility for the present state of insecurity and fear.

But whatever commitments we make to our European Allies to buttress assurances of non-aggression we must be prepared to make on a long-term basis. For there is anxiety lest the shaping of our policy may be slipping from the respected hands of President Eisenhower into the hands of men less concerned with strengthening our alliances abroad than with appeasing our isolationists at home.

And at this moment a new fact confers a grim and pressing urgency on the international situation—the hydrogen bomb. For some years efforts toward the limitation and control of armaments have been stalemated. Once more, I think we should fix our sights high again, as we did in 1947, and resume the initiative in re-exploring the possibility of disarmament. The alternative to safety through an effective plan for arms limitation is safety through more massive military spending and more frightening weapons development.

As it is, we seem now to be taking the initiative in unilateral disarmament. We've tried that before, and I am opposed to unilateralism in our disarmament policy as I am in our foreign policy.

In the past, new initiatives have had little impact on the Kremlin. I do not know that they would have any more today. But conditions have changed. Soviet threats have aroused the massed military power of the free peoples. Russia learned in Korea that the West has the will to meet force with force. The death of Stalin and revolt in the satellites has altered the situation inside the Soviet Union.

In these circumstances we should press forward—not under any foolish illusion that one grand conference would yield security, but rather with realistic faith that the foundations of stability must be laid, stone by stone, with patient persistence. We owe it to ourselves and our anxious, weary friends to expose Communist intentions if we can; to confer when we can; to reduce tensions and restore hope where we can. The door to the conference room is the door to peace. Let it never be said that America was reluctant to enter. . . .

Bonn Hoists the European Flag

Germany now leads Europe and the Washington-Bonn axis is firm. What will the French Do?

by Frank Gorrell

For the Germans the will to win has always been an important part of the battle. So bright and early on the morning after Konrad Adenauer's Germany-in-Europe platform plank had been overwhelmingly accepted at the polls, he ordered his Chancellery in Bonn to hoist the green and white flag of the Council of Europe. It was an unusual official gesture, intended apparently to symbolize that by the will of the most dynamic people in Europe, the European Defense Community had already won the right to proclaim its existence, at least dynamically, from the highest political place on German soil. It also suggested that the capital of a potentially reunited *Grossdeutschland* considered itself already the capital of a united Europe.

But will the French, who of late have been even less dynamic than usual, be willing to follow the election returns that made Adenauer the strongest chancellor since Bismarck and the first German statesman since Hitler who might, if he wanted, be a Führer? Will the extraordinary response of the Germans to a voice of command, cold, strong and authoritarian, help or hinder the approval of the EDC by the uncommandable and fissiparous French National Assembly? And, above all, will the French people accept citizenship in a reunited Europe that began in Germany and may end there?

The first reaction in France to Adenauer's victory has been to make some of the members of the Assembly, who have been on the fence about the EDC, show signs of climbing down. But it hasn't been clear on which side; and on both sides already existing attitudes have toughened. It seems likely that the fate of the EDC will now become the vehicle of decision about France's role not only in Europe but also in the Cold War.

There is not much point in warning the French—as some US newspapers have—that failure to ratify the EDC will now cost them leadership in Europe. They know, though of course they don't admit it openly, that they have already lost it. The axis between General Eisenhower's Washington and Chancellor Adenauer's Bonn is no longer in process of becoming; no symbolic flying of flags is needed to show that it exists. Whatever happens at the Palais Bourbon this autumn or winter, West Germany is sure of a place, as a sovereign equal, in NATO. Whatever may happen in, or to, Europe the Germans have voted themselves into the Atlantic Alliance and been accepted by the US with open arms.

Not only in France but in any other European country than Germany, the intervention of Secretary Dulles in an election campaign would have had results similar

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to those that followed Lord Sackville's in the US Presidential campaign of 1888. He was the British Minister who made the mistake of expressing a preference for Grover Cleveland. Naturally, his intervention helped elect President William Henry Harrison; and the US Government in demanding his recall called his meddling "detrimental to the relations between the two governments."

But the German will to win responds to power—power on its side, no matter what or where its source. And Dulles, speaking for Eisenhower, was the mouthpiece of the man—the military man—and of the nation—the nation in stupendously powerful arms—that can help them win. The relations between the two governments are the better for the knowledge.

The fate of the EDC in France will depend on the development of those relations, in particular on how far GOP Washington will go in supporting the German Chancellor in carrying out the liberation of the East Germans. It will also depend to a great extent on the evolution of West Germany's domestic politics, especially the steps Adenauer may take to break the labor movement.

For the key votes in the Paris Assembly are likely to be those of some of the Socialists, men who shuddered at Adenauer's talk the day after his election (later softened but not effectively denied) of liberating East Germans and of a condominium with "free Poles," men who believe that Adenauer will be delighted to pay debts at the expense of labor to the Ruhr magnates, the big cartelists, and the Roman Catholic hierarchy who financed and supported his campaign. French newspapers which speak for big business, like the *Figaro* of Paris, hailed Adenauer's "victory for Europe." It was, they said, a lesson France could learn in the virtues of order and stability, civic discipline and social obedience.

The *Monde* drew a direct parallel between Adenauer's election and Eisenhower's. *France-Soir* said: "Returning to their traditions, the Germans voted for a man rather than for a program." By this interpretation, the small parties of the Right were not defeated, but rather absorbed by the Christian Democrats.

Most French commentators agreed with the London *Times* that the decisive argument for Adenauer was prosperity that left no sources of discontent to force new voters in the direction of the Socialist Democrats. But it was also pointed out that good policies and hard, efficient work in Germany did not entirely account for this prosperity. While France, Britain and the Benelux countries were pouring billions of dollars and vast quantities of work and materials into rearmament, the Germans, unburdened by such tasks, were getting both US aid and the trade—in the Middle East, Asia and South America—which France and Britain were unable to keep.

German big business has had the right of way. The French Socialists want to know, before they vote for the EDC, how far Adenauer—supported by Eisenhower—will let it go. The London *Observer* has called attention to "the almost incredible venom with which the right-wing of the Adenauer government coalition conducted its campaign against the Socialists and also the trade unions," denouncing them as the profiteers of denazification and the besmirchers of the honor of the German soldier. There was moreover "a persistent attempt in which the Chancellor joined to suggest an alignment between the Socialists and the Communists."

If all the French Socialists were to vote for the EDC, it would almost certainly be ratified. But the party is split into three factions, one favoring ratification and led by Felix Gouin and Le Bail, another bitterly opposed led by Daniel Mayer and Jules Moch, a third led by Guy Mollet and Jaquet which remains on the fence. With the Socialists divided, the issue will probably be decided by a combination of Gaullists, Socialists and MRP members.

THIS IS THE GROUP which speaks for those Frenchmen—of whom there are many—who believe that there are several valid conceptions, rather than a single one, of a united Europe and of the role France can play in it. They would prefer to a Europe, largely made in the US and starting its existence in Germany, one which, though far from neutral, though fully and well armed, would try to maintain some sort of balance between the two great contenders in the Cold War. They believe that now, more than before the West German election, a united Europe of any kind can not be made—and accepted by French public opinion—without some serious effort to find out whether or not co-existence between the West of Eisenhower and Dulles and the East of Malenkov is possible, and on what terms. As Jacques Fauvet puts it, "The supporters of integrated and Atlanticized Europe will have to show not only the members of the Assembly but also the people the impossibility or the danger of a Third Force Europe or of seeking a counterweight farther to the East of tomorrow's reunited Germany before they can really make their own solution prevail."

Of course, Germany—reunited or not—will gradually become the leading power in Western Europe; its will and its work, combined with the support of Adenauer's great friend, General Eisenhower, make that inevitable. Equally inevitable, in the French view, is the return of Germany to military power, either in the EDC or the NATO, or in both, or for that matter in neither.

Nevertheless, writing off the French can be dangerous, no matter what their faults, their weaknesses, their follies may be. France can no longer lead Europe. But a France outside a nominal united Europe makes that Europe blatantly what many French fear it may become anyway—*Grossdeutschland*. And a France against such a Europe would be a triumph for Malenkov far greater than the triumph Eisenhower has had with Adenauer's European Germany. The French are bad in many things, but not in resistance. And they have had much experience in resisting Germany and the Germans.

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Luce's Hot-and-Cold War

Stalin and Acheson were LIFE'S targets. What were its objectives over eight years?

by John P. Mallan

"IN TWO, FIVE or 10 years substantial parts of the present captive world can peacefully regain national independence. That will mark the beginning of the end of Soviet despotism's attempt at world conquest." So wrote John Foster Dulles in *Life* magazine on May 12, 1952. And the attacks of Dulles, Eisenhower and other Republicans on the "treadmill policies" of "mere containment" played a significant if not a controlling part in the 1952 election. But the specific GOP alternative of "liberation" was offered very cautiously during the campaign, and with much back-tracking. "The "policy of boldness," like the equally touted plans for psychological warfare, has been even further muted since November, so much that the President acted only in a very modest and belated manner in the heartening moment of the East German revolt.

Do the Republicans really intend to liberate the world? Or, in an inversion of Theodore Roosevelt, is it more probable that they will merely speak loudly and carry a small stick? Since the views of the President and Mr. Dulles—to say nothing of the economizers in Congress—are so conflicting here, and since evidence in general is so scanty, it may be worth while to examine instead the ideas of a more loquacious and consistent spokesman for American world revolution, Henry Luce of *Time, Life* and *Fortune*. In the pages of *Life*, especially, where, over the years, the Luce message has appeared, the formative ideas are presented which may become the policy of the Republicans and the US.

Among the conservative revolutionaries, Luce is an Old Bolshevik; it was early in 1941 that he added a phrase to the language in his only book, the brief essay on *The American Century*. Months before Pearl Harbor, indeed before most Republican Congressmen voted to end Selective Service, he told America that it was in World War II to stay, and that it must fight the war not for self-interest alone, but to "incite" democratic principles throughout the world. Britain would have no choice but to follow American leadership:

> America as the dynamic center of ever-widening spheres of enterprise, America, the training center of the skillful servants of mankind, America as the Good Samaritan, really believing that it is more blessed to give than to receive, and America as the powerhouse of the ideals of Justice and Freedom—out of these elements can surely be fashioned a vision of the 20th Century to which we can and will devote ourselves in joy and gladness and vigor and enthusiasm.

The book as a whole, with its lack of interest in the views of other powers after the war (including the Russians, whom Luce had not yet discovered), was treated as chauvinism by almost everyone abroad and by idealists at home. Yet this particular passage is not unworthy of a Wilson or a Roosevelt. And throughout the war the Luce publications continued to offer an internationalism—tempered, to be sure, by impatience for the "vagueness" of the New Deal foreign policies.

The real vision of an American Age, however, did not reappear in *Life* until the problem of Soviet expansion became acute. With the announcement of the Truman Doctrine in March, 1947, *Life* sponsored the views of that other militant, James Burnham, whose book, *The Struggle For the World*, called for an "American Empire" which would control completely the diplomatic and military policies of all non-Communist nations, if necessary, by force. *Time* wrote, "only one defense can be made of Burnham's book; it is—appallingly—true."

Life published a series of Burnham articles informing our allies and independent nations that world organization was of little consequence and that they were permanent American satellites. But when Sen. Harry F. Byrd urged, a few weeks later, that the United States abandon the UN for an American-led federation, *Life* specifically repudiated his "Burnhamesque" ideas for the "statesmanship" of the late Sen. Arthur Vandenberg, who suggested that we aid Greece but at the same time strengthen existing international institutions. And through the next three years of Cold War tension, *Life* and *Time* refrained from further suggestions for empire. In February, 1950, for instance, *Life* devoted most of an issue to a feature entitled, "War Can Come: Will We Be Ready?" It answered: "When and in what situations Soviet Communism will proceed from informal war to shooting war is unpredictable. It is conceivable that the Communists will not choose shooting war as the method of final decision." However *Life* went on to criticize Secretary Acheson (then just beginning to come under attack) because, while he recognized the danger of Communism, he seemed "to assume . . . a point at which accommodation if not formal agreement with Soviet

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Communism would be possible." . . . *Life* noted, "There can be no compromise . . . which can enable the two worlds to live their lives in separate peace."

This kind of statement sent cold shivers through the British Foreign Office; but, *Life* continued, there was still hope. "Though rigid, Soviet Communism has its own peculiar doctrine of change to meet changing circumstances. . . . We cannot hope that there can be any lasting agreement, balance of power, accommodation of aims and circumstances. . . . But we can hope that the prospect of mutual obliteration will affect Soviet thinking."

Life thus preserved its dual position: attack on the Acheson policies as appeasement, combined with support of what was essentially the containment theory of Acheson as well as George Kennan—whose ideas *Life* had earlier praised. Independent observers must wonder whether this was a concession to the views of *Life's* five million readers or an inner contradiction in the thinking of the leading advocate of American imperium.

WITH THE COMING of the Korean War, and the Chinese intervention, the Luce journals have been under a special tension, heightened perhaps by the family connection with China, where Luce lived till the age of 14. His magazines not only supported the war, but urged that it be kept a limited one, holding that it was better to engage in a series of "dirty little wars," than a single all-out conflict. When the then Secretary of the Navy Francis Matthews urged in his Boston speech of September, 1950, that the United States consider a preventive war, *Life* criticized him sharply. It suggested that he be fired, along with Defense Secretary Louis Johnson, and Maj.-Gen. Orville Anderson, commandant of the Air War College in Montgomery, Alabama, who said in the same week to his graduating class, "Give me the order to do it, and I can break up Russia's five A-bomb nests in a week. And when I went up to Christ . . . I think I could explain to Him that I had saved civilization." For this, Anderson was suspended by the Air Force, with a public attack on his view; and *Life* approved this action: "For the moment the bulls had been cleared out of the China shop."

But when the Chinese attacked at the Yalu, *Life* found itself under its greatest strain. On December 11, 1950, the editors wrote, "The prospect is war. World War III was never closer. . . . At last we know our enemy." And *Life* hoped that Truman, Acheson, and "our pallid allies, the British" now saw the point. *Life* agreed with Truman that unlimited war with the USSR now was not the answer; the magazine felt that we must fight in Asia but that "war with Communist China does not necessarily entail involvement with its mass armies." Air and sea attacks, building up Chiang Kai-shek, and aiding the "Resistance" in China might enable us to win without heavy ground-force entanglement, though this was, as *Life* said December 18, "war to the finish, war NOW."

"Does it make sense to use the Bomb on the Soviet Union now?" *Life* asked on January 8, 1951, adding that Gen. Hoyt Vandenberg had opposed this action, but that there should be "free discussion" of the question:

> In view of the declared enmity of Communist China and the declared purpose of Communist China to seize and dominate all Asia, *Life* sees no choice but to acknowledge the existence of war with Red China and to set about its defeat, in full awareness that this course will probably involve war with the Soviet Union as well.

This was at least specific enough; and *Life* went on to attack "the habit of evasion" of the war question by President Truman. But the magazine had actually reached a high point in aggressiveness in that dark January of 1951, admittedly one of the most uncertain months in our history. As the situation improved slightly, *Life* seemed subtly to alter its views.

On January 15, *Life* attacked Truman and Acheson, "the proud priest of co-existence," for believing that it might still be possible to live in the same world with the USSR, without overthrowing its present government. Acheson in office was "a real and present danger to this republic." "Peaceful co-existence is utterly impossible, and to talk of it is a pietistic fraud." But, going back on its brave words of war of only a week before, *Life* went on, " . . . is total war inevitable? Maybe so, maybe not. Given the pressures [from the West] . . . the Soviet empire may start to change within and to crumble. *No man can say how the pure wickedness of Soviet Communism will ultimately be banished from the earth,* as some day it will be banished. . . . We must oppose Soviet expansion at the calmly accepted risk of all-out war." (Italics the author's.)

On March 5, 1951, *Life* further shifted its viewpoint. "*Life* believes that (1) there is a valid hope of peace; (2) World War III is not inevitable; (3) there is a course open to the non-Communist alliance, and particularly to the United States, that may be called a way to peace—provided the words 'war' and 'peace' are honestly used and defined with care. . . . 'War' is a hard word to

THE PROSPECT IS WAR

EDITORIAL

WE'RE IN IT NOW!

EDITORIAL

THIS WAY TO PEACE

PART I

EDITORIALS

COEXISTENCE WITH RUSSIA

OUR TERMS ARE MODERATE, BUT NOT TOWARD THE KREMLIN GA

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define; we might better say 'struggle'," since "we are already in a struggle, a struggle for our lives, a struggle to the finish, a struggle now." On March 12, the editors developed this idea; the "struggle" might be won, the Communist lines rolled back, via "pressures without and skilled counterattack within." The hundreds of millions in the Soviet world must be persuaded that "we have no desire to co-exist with the keepers of their prison." Political and psychological warfare, *Life* held, could do a great deal to disrupt the Soviets, though it is admitted they "cannot win alone." *Life* concluded that it was the Truman policies of trying to "abate, soften, postpone and settle" the struggle, which is "defeatism" and will inevitably lead to war.

By April 9, however, *Life* was willing to accept General MacArthur's personal offer of a truce arrangement with the Communists. It asked: "What was so awful about that?" When MacArthur, after his dismissal, began to reveal the parochialism of some of his views, especially toward world Communism, *Life* cooled toward him and at times even criticized him. But by now the magazine had turned to new themes. On May 28, there came an entire issue entitled "The War We May Fight." It was based on schemes by which Western Europe could be defended on the ground, via "certain revolutionary developments in the methods of warfare." The "methods," taken for the most part from the ideas of German generals who had fought the Russians, were rather vague and seemed to rely on the theory that the Russians could win a war only by retreating into "vast spaces" as against advancing into restricted spaces. *Life* also devoted many pages to alleged new airborne methods by which "25 divisions" could jump from Britain to Norway to Denmark to Warsaw in six months—and hold Warsaw, though the Soviets held all of Europe.

ON JUNE 18, 1951, *Life* wrote off "the now dead doctrine of containment." It continued to write in general terms of the need for aggressive action against the Communists. But it is highly interesting that after the January, 1951, editorials calling for "war NOW," a whole year passed in which *Life* simply did not deal seriously with the Korean War, nor with the truce talks which began that summer. Not until February, 1952, was there an editorial dealing directly with Korea or even Red China—a strange omission for a magazine so concerned with the immediate destruction of its country's enemies.

In February, *Life* itself commented on "the shortage of armchair generals" in the war, and asked, "Did you know . . . that Truman's National Security Council and the Joint Chiefs of Staff have a plan which will change the whole character of the war? This plan has yet to be sold to our allies, but it is at least tentative US policy." The "plan," which also appeared in *Time* but not elsewhere in the press, was an early statement of the so-called retaliation thesis. It called, according to *Life*, for the establishment of a truce in Korea with the understanding that any further aggression would mean large-scale air and sea attacks against China proper.

But, added *Life*, it is still likely that such a plan would not suffice, that such attacks alone could not stop the Red Chinese, and, "Finally, how would we know when we had won?" Some day, *Life* "dared to predict," the West would realize that it must go beyond such peripheral assaults to "the complete overthrow of Mao Tse-tung," and Stalin, too. This, *Life* conceded, would require ground forces—it added that they could be for the most part, "mainland guerrillas."

On March 24, 1952, *Life* disinterred and again attacked the whole idea of co-existence it had previously buried. It criticized George Kennan for still supporting "remnants of this obsolete policy of 1946." . . . It declared, "freedom under law is everybody's right and *America's mission.*" (Italics the author's.) On April 14 it chastised Kennan for being "polite and shallow."

On the same day, *Life* reviewed Reinhold Niebuhr's *The Irony of American History*, which might conceivably be taken as an attack on the "sin of pride" of the American Century school. Since Luce's ideological position is based on equal parts of "Christianity" and natural rights —like the views of Dulles—it is interesting to note how he deals with the problem of Christian humility. Admitting that Americans may be guilty of pride, *Life* went on, with a strange argument:

> While there are seeds of pride in our belief that our way of freedom is divinely ordained and hence should be spread throughout the world, the reason for this sin is much simpler than the complexity of the modern world or the fallibility of human nature. The reason for it is that we have lost the faith in God that originally underlay the dream. . . . The nature of the universe has not changed; what has changed is our certainty that God rules it. When and if we recover that certainty, the anxious admonitions of Christian pessimism will boil down to Luther's axiom, "the godly trust not their own righteousness."

In 1948, and again in 1952, *Life* threw over all pretense at impartiality and made it clear that it supported the Republican Party. In fact Republican doctrine was developed in May, in *Life*, by the author of the Party Platform, John Foster Dulles. His plea predicted that an avowed liberation policy, procured by the US, would confound the Kremlin and electrify the world. In a more tentative form the Republican Party endorsed this view. In turn in September, *Life* attacked Adlai Stevenson as "dangerously wrong" for suggesting that any negotiations with the Communists was possible.

In January, 1953, the editors accepted Dennis Brogan's challenge, in his *Harper's* piece, *The Illusion of American Omnipotence.*

To Brogan who hinted this nation lacked the powers attributed to it by Luce, *Life* counterposed Thornton Wilder, who had recently written, "The American has the first planetary mind." Indeed, said Wilder, the American is "lonely" and sometimes "frantic" because he

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is not really identified with any time or place but only with the whole world. The Democrats had been wrong in counseling patience in our foreign policies, since "the American is very far from willing to accept tragedy as a national policy;" rather his spirit is "aggressively brotherly (but not warlike), meddlesomely curious, unsubmissive but responsible, in love with action, expectant of progress." This spirit, so long dormant under Truman and Acheson, reborn with Eisenhower, "will not be omnipotent but it will have its effects."

Yet in February, in one of his very rare signed articles, Henry Luce wrote, "The ultimate goal of the present endeavors of the United States is plainly a capability to negotiate with Soviet Russia from a position of very great strength . . . not in the spirit of Yalta but in the spirit of genuine pacification." And in April, taking note of the Korean truce talks for almost the first time, *Life* supported the truce. In May, however, the magazine ran two articles by General Van Fleet who declared that the war could have been won at any time, and in fact the Communist Chinese Government "eliminated," if only the United States had had the "will" to win. *Life*, which had not given much support to General MacArthur in 1951, now wrote in 1953 that "international bravery lost its focus" when MacArthur was dismissed, and that the whole "truce-talk charade" could have been avoided by supporting him in the first place.

Thus there appear to be serious ambiguities in the Luce-*Life* thinking, going far beyond the mere desire of the politician or publicist not to displease his audience. Luce's most explicit editorials did indeed call for war early in 1951; but *Life* defined "war" in a carefully vague manner even then, and retreated in 1951-53 to the simpler view of "psychological warfare," the use of Asian troops, and trick airborne methods. To be sure, the Soviet Union cannot be allowed to exist, and those who feel otherwise are dangerous *per se* to the Republic. But "no man can say how the pure wickedness of Soviet Communism will ultimately be banished. . . . " Perhaps there will be no war, nor even a serious engagement of American forces on the ground. Luce, in short, has wavered in his foreign-policy thinking almost as much as the average American to whom he is appealing; a fever chart could be drawn for the Korean War, in which Luce could be shown closer to all-out war whenever American forces are hard-pressed, yet moving away, or simply ignoring the war, when we are winning. This behavior is "American" enough, as Gabriel Almond has shown in his *American People and Foreign Policy*—but it is hardly in accord with a long-term and carefully thought-out plan for American Empire.

In a recent discussion of the possible dangers of a Korean truce, *Life* wrote, "Republican businessmen are just as susceptible to 'hands in prayer' as Democratic college professors, and have additional vulnerabilities of their own." But this kind of conservative self-criticism, which mirrors the views of the ex-Trotskyite Burnham, is rare in the Luce thinking. More usually, as in the *Fortune* apologia, *The Permanent Revolution*, the businessman appears to be as sophisticated an international conspirator as Marxist demonology ever made him out to be.

Actually, as Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and C. Wright Mills have suggested, democratic capitalism is not really interested in world revolution; since the Spanish-American War, it has left the initiative to others and contented itself with the quiet enjoyment of its ample lot. Nor can Christianity, in Luce's definition, really serve his crusade. He has tried hard enough to suggest "spirituality" to a people inclined to materialism, yet guiltily and sentimentally religious; indeed, his magazines, with their alternating sensuality and piety, are all too revealing of the American psychology. But Luce's theory of history and human destiny is simply too superficial; like the Communists, he seems to see an extremely short period of not very great bloodshed—"the American is not willing to accept tragedy as a national policy"—followed by an everlasting heaven—on an earth which reminds one suspiciously of Booth Tarkington's Indiana. Luce, unfortunately, lacks the depths of a Fulton Sheen; his enthusiasm for the battle with anti-Christ NOW—which he must inevitably and easily win—is hardly compensated for by a sense of the inadequacies of the Americans who must remake the world to come. It somehow does not come as alive as his Hell of Communism and secularism.

THIS IS NOT the place to deal substantively with the many problems which would be raised by an attempt to go beyond the militantly anti-Communist policies of the past six years, nor to discuss the probable reactions of Europeans and Asians to a Luce-type crusade. Most of our friends abroad have already been seriously antagonized by the Calvinistic narrowness of Dulles and MacArthur, just as they are favorably impressed with the broader interpretation of the American tradition by such men as Chester Bowles, William O. Douglas and Ralph Bunche. However, they can take a certain reassurance from the contradictions of the liberation movement. For the commitment to liberation was second always in Republican doctrines to the commitment to normalcy, and the two were irreconcilable. Far from summoning the nation to undertake the great material and psychological sacrifices which liberation would require, Congress prefers to cut the Air Force budget and wave the banner of lowered taxes. Even spokesmen for liberation themselves are beguiled by the thoughts of victory without a long, hard effort. Luce and his school seem to be trapped by the very American blandness which is his real enemy —the immaturity, provincialism and love of surrogate excitement to which he caters so well on those pages of his journals not devoted to God. In the last analysis Luce and his allies are not revolutionaries at all in either the Christian or the Communist sense; they compromise too easily with violence and necessity to meet the Leninist fanatics whom they oppose, while they accept their own righteousness before the Lord too comfortably to be successful Apostles.

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

PRIMITIVE ART AND MODERN MAN

by Herbert Read

THE RELATIONS between primitive and modern art are as old as the Eiffel Tower—exactly, for the Eiffel Tower was built to commemorate the Universal Exhibition of 1889, and at that exhibition there were numerous anthropological objects which attracted the attention of the artists of Paris, above all, of Gauguin. "It is great," said Gauguin. "In the Java village there are Hindoo dances. All the art of India can be seen there, and it is exactly like the photos I have. I go there again on Thursday as I have an appointment with a mulatto girl." Van Gogh wrote to Emile Bernard:

> There is something I am very sorry to have missed at the Exposition, that is the collection of dwellings of all the races. . . . So could you, since you have seen it, give me an impression of it, and especially a sketch with the colours of the primitive Egyptian dwelling. . . . In one of the illustrated papers I saw a sketch of ancient Mexican dwellings, they too seem to have been primitive and very beautiful. Oh, if only one knew about those times and could paint the people of those days who lived in such dwellings—that would be just as beautiful as Millet: I don't say as far as color is concerned, but in character, as something significant, as something in which one has a solid faith.

This is eighteen years before Picasso painted *Les demoiselles d'Avignon*, and note what Van Gogh is saying (and what Gauguin and Emile Bernard were thinking at this time)—namely, that primitive art is beautiful, and that it is beautiful because it is primitive—that because it is primitive it has something which is significant, something in which one can have a solid faith.

Until that time, and indeed till long after that time, anthropologists and ethnologists had been completely blind to the aesthetic appeal of the objects which they piled up in rich confusion in their museums. Their favourite epithet for the description of such objects, throughout the nineteenth century, is "crude," and "crude" I suspect they remain for most anthropologists, who are not accustomed to give any scientific status at all to aesthetic values. Frobenius, towards the end of the nineteenth century, was probably the first anthropologist to use the word "art" in connection with primitive peoples, and he did not lay much stress on it.

Robert Lowie, as late as 1925, is probably the first anthropologist to recognize, in his own words, that "the aesthetic impulse is one of the irreducible components of the human mind . . . a potent agency from the very beginnings of human existence," though he quotes Jochelson, whose work is unknown to me, as having previously admitted this fact. But what I wish to emphasize is the fact that the whole of this revaluation of primitive art—its very recognition as art—was due to artists, and not to scholars and scientists, who, in spite of their more intimate knowledge of the material in question, remained obstinately purblind to its aesthetic qualities.

All this is matter of fact, and perhaps not very important. What is more interesting and debatable is the motive underlying the recognition of the aesthetic value of primitive art, sixty years ago. Why did the artists of 1889 find primitive art not merely beautiful, but also significant—"something in which one has a solid faith?" That, I take it, is the real problem.

I think there is little doubt that the answer to this question lies in the artist's revolt, conscious or unconscious, against the industrial civilization which, by the third quarter of the nineteenth century, had become such a hideous reality. In the case of Van Gogh and Gauguin, European civilization was a "dismal swamp," corrupt beyond redemption. Gauguin deliberately turned his back on it, and went to Tahiti to seek the primitive reality. To a certain extent he found it, and this is how he describes it:

> A delight distilled from some indescribable sacred horror which I glimpse of far off things. The odor of an antique joy which I am breathing in the present. Animal shapes of a statuesque rigidity: indescribably antique, august, and religious in the rhythm of their gesture, in their singular immobility. In the dreaming eyes is the overcast surface of an unfathomable enigma.

In the case of Van Gogh the reaction was less conscious, more introverted, and the end was madness. From the asylum in St. Rémy he wrote of his *horror of life*, but he also wrote that he considered the artist's duty was to think, not to dream, and he said of Bernard's and Gauguin's paintings: "the thing about them is that they are a sort of dream or nightmare—that they are erudite enough—you can see that it is someone who is mad on the primitives . . . " and that gave him "a painful feeling of collapse instead of progress." But his own concentration on the visual was an escape from the civilization around him—as he said himself: "it is really at bottom fairly true that a painter as man is too much absorbed by what his eyes see, and is not sufficiently master of the rest of his life."

Van Gogh died in this year 1889 which I have given as the one in which the relations between primitive and modern art began, so he does not really come into question. But Van Gogh is the father of that movement known as Expressionism, and the Expressionists were to become, twenty years later, the most consistent representatives of a primitive style in modern art. By a primitive *style* I mean a mode of expression more or less directly influenced by primitive prototypes. Emil Nolde, like Gauguin before him, actually visited the South Seas, and there was the direct impact on other Expressionists, such as Schmidt-Rottluff, Pechstein and Kirchner, of Frobenius' publications, and of Carl Einstein's *Negerplastik*, published in Leipzig in 1915.

To return to France: I would like to suggest that there was no break in development between the discovery of primitive art in 1889 and its direct translation into cubism from 1907 onwards. Gauguin went on painting until 1903, and his works, of course, gained in influence after his death. By 1904

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we know that Vlaminck was taking an interest in primitive art, and Vlaminck infected Derain with his enthusiasm, and Derain infected Matisse. Both Matisse and Derain began to collect Negro sculpture before 1907. Then came *Les demoiselles d'Avignon* and a series of paintings, by Picasso, Braque, Derain and others, which grew increasingly geometrical in style, and finally, in other hands, emerged as cubism: cubism analytical and synthetic, and then abstract and uncontaminated by any representational element.

Meanwhile another development was taking place which was to have its repercussions on modern art. About the same time that Gauguin was discovering primitive art, Freud was discovering the unconscious. I have no documentary evidence of the first contact between art and psychoanalysis, but I suspect that it took place in Munich between 1908 and 1910. There is some research to be done on this question, but I think it would establish that both Kandinsky and Klee had some knowledge of psychoananlysis before 1910, and certainly the group of artists who assembled in Zurich on the outbreak of war in 1914 and established the Dada group were familiar with some of Freud's ideas. This group was presently taken up by a trained psychiatrist, André Breton, and from the interpretation of primitive art, psychoanalysis, the poetry of Rimbaud and Lautréamont, post-Hegelian philosophy and I know not what else, the movement known as Surrealism was born.

The surrealists from the beginning took a serious and indeed a scientific interest in all forms of primitive art, and in Paris at any rate there was a close understanding between the surrealist artists, the psychoanalysts, and the anthropologists. The general effect of this was to reveal a common basis, in the unconscious, for those irrational forms of art in which the contemporary, no less than the primitive man, felt impelled to express himself.

These historical considerations are perhaps unduly pedantic, but the dimensions of the relations between modern art and primitive art are not fully appreciated. I hope I have shown that it has not been a superficial flirtation; that on the contrary there has grown up, over a period of sixty years, an intimate connection which, on the one hand, has led to a revaluation of ethnological material, a great portion of which has now been rescued from the scientific lumber-room and elevated to a worthy place among the creative achievements of mankind; and on the other hand has given to the modern artist a new mode of expression which he finds in accordance with his emotional or spiritual needs. And that brings me to my last point.

I have been criticised for using the word "*Angst*" [anguish] in this context, and for suggesting that the similarities which exist between certain types of primitive art and certain types of modern art are due to a common psychological condition. Perhaps I did not make my meaning clear, but it seems to me beyond doubt that the trend of modern

Family Group, by Henry Moore

art away from representational realism and towards some degree of abstraction or symbolism is but a reflection of those philosophical and religious trends which, themselves no doubt determined or at any rate intimately related to economic trends, have led mankind into a state of religious unbelief, of psychological imbalance, and social unrest. If there is one word which succinctly defines the universal condition of mankind today, it is the word *insecurity*—mental insecurity, social insecurity, metaphysical insecurity.

I am not going to suggest that the same or a similar word can be used to characterize primitive man. This term is far too inclusive for our purposes, and we need some classification of primitive races before we can venture to generalise about their metaphysical characteristics. But there is the general division which I have already referred to—that between primitive races whose art is naturalistic, and primitive races whose art is geometrical or symbolic. It is roughly, as I have said, the distinction between paleolithic art and neolithic art, between what is usually called bushman art and what is usually called Negro art. At this point I would quite sincerely ask for the anthropologist's guidance, because it does seem to me that we lack any thorough correlation of types of religion and types of art. I am assuming, however, that such a correlation would reveal a parallel between religions of fear, terror, propitiation and retribution to which would correspond arts of symbolic or geometric tendency; and between religions of ritual and sympathetic magic based on a belief in the beneficence of nature and the gods to which would correspond a naturalistic or representational art.

If such a correspondence does in fact show itself throughout the history of mankind, then it is very easy to explain the return of the modern artist to forms of art similar to those we call "primitive." The reason lies in mankind's return to a "primitive" state of mind. To call the state of mind of a contemporary existentialist "primitive" is perhaps paradoxical; but when the existentialist (and we must remember that he represents the up-to-date Christian theologist as well as the up-to-date atheist philosopher)—when the existentialist begins to talk about the anguish or uneasiness which overcomes him when he faces up to the problem of man's cosmic predicament, he is merely using elaborate linguistic signs to describe the same feelings which overcome primitive men, but which they can only express in emotive symbols. Well, the modern artist, not being an adept in philosophical verbalization, is reduced to expressing himself in concrete symbols—that is to say, in works of art that are the objective correlate of his inner emotional tensions. That is the central fact to be grasped in this debate—I mean the fact that modern man, and the modern artist in particular, is no mere eclectic monkey, trying to imitate for his occasional amusement the artifacts of primitive races; on the contrary, he is, spiritually speaking, in a tough spot himself, and the more honest he is with himself, the more resolutely he rejects the traditional shams and worn counters of expression, the more nearly, and the more unconsciously, he finds himself expressing himself in a manner which bears a real and no longer superficial resemblance to so-called "primitive" art.

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SOME RECENT NOVELS

THE ONLY ONE of these novels that isn't worth much time from reader or reviewer is Carl J. Spinatelli's *The Florentine*. It is described by its author as "a lusty, ribald, and somewhat bawdy tale," by its publisher as a book that brings "to vibrant life all the pageantry of this gorgeous epoch." "Somewhat bawdy" is not inaccurate, and the style of the dust cover is about as vivid as Mr. Spinatelli's. I couldn't force myself to read all of it despite the fact I enjoy Benvenuto Cellini's *Autobiography* upon which the novel largely depends.

THE FLORENTINE, by Carl J. Spinatelli (Prentice-Hall; $3.95). NIGHT IN BABYLON, by James Wellard (St. Martin's; $2.75). THE SINGER NOT IN THE SONG, by Audrey Erskine Lindop (Appleton - Century - Crofts; $3.75). A LAW FOR THE LION, by Louis Auchincloss (Houghton, Mifflin; $3).

James Wellard's *Night in Babylon* is a well-written pre-construction of what might happen if the Russian armies were invited to liberate Europe in 1956. It is a novel in the very good tradition of the psycho-philosophical thriller Graham Greene has helped to make popular. Since Mr. Wellard paces his novel admirably you enjoy while you read; since there is a lot of good sense in the talk that only occasionally seems more the author's than the characters', you think back on the book as a valuable experience.

In the early pages a Frenchman says of Europeans: "we have the alternative of fighting to conquer, if we think we're young and vigorous enough; or finding a way to grow old in peace. We French—all we Europeans—are concerned with the latter." In another place an American suggests that the ultimate goal of both Russia and the United States "is the standardization of the mind and the destruction of the individual ego." Other characters say plausibly interesting and possibly true things about why Communist occupation of Europe would not work (it doesn't in the novel) and about why maybe there can't be all-out atomic war. Probably *Night in Babylon* is too "reasonable" about the future to attract the attention of those who enjoy the dim view of Orwell, Koestler, and Huxley; certainly it isn't as powerfully written as the not-Utopias of any of these three. Yet I think *New Republic* readers, as well as those who normally would prefer immersion in *Desirée*, can enjoy and benefit from reading Mr. Wellard's intelligent novel.

The Singer Not the Song might be show what would have happened if Graham Greene's whiskey-priest had survived the revolution and been replaced by a more adamant representative of Catholicism. Audrey Lindop's novel begins with the replacement of Father Gomez, a weak-brave man, by Father Keogh, who is nearly as naïve as he is fearless. The first two-thirds of the book, while Father Keogh and the attractive gangster, Malo, fight it out for the domination of Quantana, is good reading because it presents fairly what the conflict might be anywhere between those who are guided by the opposite ecstasies of sincere self-love and sincere love of God.

But Miss Lindop is not content to leave it at that. The last third of the book, though it is partially saved by her vivid description of characters and places and by her discreet handling of her preference for Catholicism, involves too much cloak-and-dagger stuff about Father Keogh's last-ditch effort to save Malo, and about his almost fall before Lucha (who loves him carnally). The ending, with corpses strewn all over the pages, is more like Kydd than Shakespeare (but I'm still glad I read *The Singer Not the Song*).

Louis Auchincloss's *A Law for the Lion* is, his publishers quote proudly, a book by "the ablest U.S. disciple of Henry James and Edith Wharton in many a year." The this-time-mitigated trouble is that there are passages that sound too exactly like Henry James. But Mr. Auchincloss is not one of the too many moderns who have learned the lesson of the master as if by rote. For the most part he has absorbed "what is available as his birthright" and developed an attitude towards modern life that is his own.

A Law for the Lion is about Eloise Dilworth, an intelligent woman caught in but not bound by the conventions of upper-middle class Long Island society. She sees the unhappiness and virtuous candor of her often-married mother and of the Bohemian New Yorkers she sometimes gets willingly entangled with; she also perceives the fake assuredness of those her complacent but "good" husband thinks she should be contented with. Her own life messes up, as it probably would, but she is able to free her step-daughter, Hilda, from the bonds that partially strangle her.

Not too much, you may say, if you come to novels for answers to problems never posed before. A good deal, you may say if you read *A Law for the Lions*, remembering the trite truth that basic human situations recur perpetually on all social levels without ever precisely reproducing themselves. It is not a great novel, but it is a very good one in which an author displays both his assimilation of his ancestors and his own nominal percentage of experience that is new.

HARVEY CURTIS WEBSTER

SPOTLIGHT ON INQUIRY

PROFESSOR CARR of Dartmouth has written a devastating indictment of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. While the spotlight of his exhaustive inquiry is focused upon the six years following the grant of permanent status to the committee in January 1945, the conclusions reached are equally pertinent today in the Velde era. Nothing has occurred since Professor Carr's study ended in 1950 to render obsolete his analysis or his observations. Whether the committee chairman be a Dies, a Thomas, a Wood or a Velde, the evils of the committee live on. They are evils that are inherent in the very nature of this American version of the inquisition and they will continue to gnaw at the vitals of American freedom until the committee itself is abolished.

THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, by Robert K. Carr (Cornell; $5).

There is no denying the fact, of course, that the committee has made some contributions to the public understanding of the international and domestic Communist movements. Nor can it be denied that it has played a significant role in the exposure of certain espionage activities, the Hiss and Remington incidents being conspicuous examples. But these factors fade into insignificance beside the committee's destructive inroads on personal liberty and its warping of public opinion.

As Professor Carr points out, the most serious shortcoming of the committee's record is its personalized at-

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tacks upon individuals. Disregarding all standards of civilized justice, the committee has persisted in seeking to demonstrate the "guilt" of certain persons for offenses usually not defined in law and to punish them publicly by destroying their reputations and their means of livelihood. The committee has never conceived its function to be limited to uncovering subversive activities. More often than not its only interest has been to point its accusing finger at a former Communist or fellow-traveler and to hold him up to public ridicule, disregarding the fact that the individual committed no crime or act of espionage. Only if he bares his soul and loudly proclaims the error of his former beliefs and affiliations and then throws himself weeping upon the mercy of the committee is the individual accorded any degree of condescending respect.

This approach of the committee, this public flailing of non-criminals, has done much to encourage a widespread witch-hunting spirit both in government and in private life. Professor Carr is surely right in asserting that "McCarthyism would never have been possible had not the Un-American Activities Committee, and its predecessor, the Dies committee, paved the way from 1938 on." And he is equally correct in stating that the committee has played an important role in the demoralization of the federal service spawned by repeated loyalty and security testings. The loyalty program for government employees was created by President Truman in 1947 in an effort to head off more extreme measures being demanded by such congressional sources as this committee. Much of its irrational and inquisitorial atmosphere permeated the program and contributed to the low level of mediocrity which now marks the civil service.

So incompetent has been the work of the committee members and the committee staff, so odious have been the antics of some of the members, and so frequent have been the committee's overstatements of the extent of subversive activities in the United States that the good judgment of many intelligent citizens on the issue of subversion has been impaired. Their sensitivity to the real problem has been dulled and their desire to give thoughtful attention to ways of meeting that problem has been discouraged by the crude and revolting actions of the committee. If history ever records the preservation of a democratic way of life in these days of assault by revolutionary forces of Communism it will be in spite of, rather than because of, the existence of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Professor Carr has amply documented his criticisms of the House committee. It is a dispassionate, orderly survey of all aspects of the committee's work—the personnel, the publications, the investigations, the press treatment, and the judicial reaction. The author realizes full well that the House of Representatives is not apt to abolish the committee in the foreseeable future and for that reason makes valuable suggestions for delimiting and defining more carefully the work of the committee. The committee's lack of restraint has done much to discredit Congress in the eyes of many Americans and many of those who live abroad. Congress would do well to study this document in making any reforms of committee procedure; in it is reflected many of the reasons why congressional inquiries are now under so dark a cloud of suspicion.

This book is a worthy member of the series of studies made possible by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to Cornell University, studies dealing with the impact upon civil liberties of current governmental programs designed to ensure internal security and to expose and control disloyal or subversive conduct.

EUGENE GRESSMAN

BARKING IN HADES

AS THE EDITORS of *Canadian Poems* point out, Canada was not yet a federated nation when the United States—still maligned by European critics for its youth—had produced *Moby Dick* (1851) and *Leaves of Grass* (1855). In the bare one hundred years of its literary life, Canadian poetry has been but a recent and short branch of English poetry, paralleling the movement of British and American literature from Victorian moralism and sentimentality to the lyrical exhaustion which followed, the facile leftist optimism of the thirties and early forties, and the verbal ecstasies flavored with religion which characterizes the present. The editors, in a fine introductory note, make clear their awareness that Canada cannot produce a literature expressive of its particular life and distinctiveness until it comes to nationhood and self-consciousness as a people.

CANADIAN POEMS, 1850-1952, edited by Louis Dudek and Irving Layton (Contact Press; $1). CEREBUS, poems by Louis Dudek, Irving Layton and Raymond Souster (Contact Press; $1). LOVE THE CONQUEROR WORM, by Irving Layton (Contact Press; $1.50). TWENTY-FOUR POEMS by Louis Dudek (Contact Press; $1).

The Canadian poets are still suffering traditional taunts from abroad, still live in the unsympathetic environment of a burgeoning mercantile civilization out of which their American brethren rose to a maturity of expression but a few generations ago. No poet or literary critic from The Big Terrible City of New York (as Raymond Souster names it) can look out from his own precarious eminence and fail to recognize or to sympathize with a struggle in which he has but lately been triumphant.

And no young nation can hope to borrow an existing tradition from the continuous past of other peoples without undergoing similar tribulations of growth in order to find the pitch of voice peculiar to itself alone beyond the cracked voice of adolescence, or to project an image beyond the three-dimensional body of its growth into the free-ranging realm of the imagination. The contemporary Canadian poets, as Irving Layton (one of the three heads of *Cerebus*) indicates, are still barking themselves hoarse in Hades against professionalized sports, a vicious profit-seeking press, a business and technological civilization, and the gentility, propriety, and respectability of a middle-class morality.

As a consequence of this although Mr. Layton is among the most varied, interesting, and talented of modern Canadian poets, he is forced in his poetry to an over-insistence on sex and revolt, to the consideration of the Canadian poet as an exile condemned to live in his own country. His co-editor and fellow dog in Hades, Louis Dudek, makes great claims for freedom and love in poetry much beyond the strictures of his enviroment, and thus weakens his expression.

Now that the Canadian dollar is on par with the American dollar, and often beyond par, the Canadian poets may be told what they perhaps know: that both

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the materialism of their country and the poet's impure gentility or raucous revolt are inevitable consequences of a nation in growth. But perhaps they do not quite realize what few Americans have known and fewer still in Europe have cared to admit: that no great maturity in the arts can come from an impoverished or exhausted environment, that the great renaissances of the arts in Europe—whether Greek, or Italian, or French, or English—have always coincided with material prosperity and national confidence.

The relationship between the arts and the material well-being of a nation are no less complex than that between the spirit and the well-being of the body in which it lives. Whatever antagonism and love are involved between poet and nation, whatever inevitable pangs of early courtship, the full vitality of their final marriage demands full resources on both sides, material as well as spiritual. From this point of view, Canada, no less than America, may look confidently to a further of a renaissance which so setbacks or discrepancies can obscure.

KIMON FRIAR

A HISTORY OF PSYCHOANALYSIS IN AMERICA

by
CLARENCE P. OBERNDORF, M.D.

This volume presents at last a thorough, authoritative account of psychoanalysis' first 50 years in America. Dr. Oberndorf, one of the first American analysts, formerly president of the American Psychoanalytic Association, brings to this work the vivid detail that only intimate contact can give, and he has presented his material in clear, readable form. Psychoanalysis is one of the key developments of the century: Dr. Oberndorf has given an invaluable guide to all who would know its roots.

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TRAGEDY AND RITUAL

HERBERT WEISINGER traces the myth and ritual of the combat, death, and rebirth of the divine king through their rise in the Near East and the Western Mediterranean, to their spiritualization in Hebrew culture when the divine king becomes a boundless Supreme Being, and to their return to a more concrete form in Christian tradition with Christ as the divine king. It is suggested that Christianity owes its ascendancy to the almost dramatic effectiveness of its bal-

TRAGEDY AND THE PARADOX OF THE FORTUNATE FALL, by Herbert Weisinger (Michigan State College; $5).

ance between the concreteness of a single hero and the loftiness of Hebrew spirituality. Both in the Christian and in the primitive ritual, the paradox resides in the fact that death is required to make rebirth and salvation possible. In tragedy, a closely allied offshoot of the ritual, it is the wrong choice that provides salvation by enlightenment. The divine king must die to be resurrected and to save us; the tragic hero must err to become enlightened and to warn us. But, just as the ceremony, to be meaningful, requires some belief in the sheer possibility that darkness might triumph and the king might not be resurrected, so in tragedy, Weisinger, following Hegel and A. C. Bradley, requires that tension between faith and skepticism that characterized the great Greek and Elizabethan ages of tragedy.

There is almost an excess of scholarly data on the parallels in primitive myths and rituals, for Weisinger furnishes a virtual anthology of hymns, legends, and accounts of rituals. This abundance is all the more curious in view of the comparative paucity of material about tragedy. Perhaps Weisinger intends to prove his very arguable points about tragedy in a later volume; here, however, it is approached only theoretically or by way of fleeting references to Oedipus and Hamlet. HENRY POPKIN

BOOKS IN BRIEF

IN SPITE OF, by John Cowper Powys (Philosophical Library; $5).

It will be a strange type, indeed, even among the maladjusted, which will take kindly to this collection of in spite ofs. Written in a tone of very special purple, it combines classical allusions and homely metaphors with a paste of apostrophes (to which no one will react as he is supposed to: "Oh, unknown reader"; "Oh, most cautious of convertites"), rhetorical questions and quaint Celticisms ("by Gis and by St. Charity," "alack and fie for shame"; "But aye the day and woe the day"). In spite of *In Spite of* Experts, I. S. O. Loneliness and I. S. O. seven other equally monstrous bugaboos, which serve as chapter headings, there must surely be better ways of exorcising too obstreperous demons.

THE POET'S TESTAMENT, by George Santayana (Scribners; $3.50).

The buttressed and lean prose of Santayana was certainly the medium best suited to his particular literary spirit; a poem affords him neither space nor time enough for his language to realize its potential beauty. This collection includes twelve short poems, 16 translations of poem and two longish plays *(The Marriage of Venus* and *Philosophers at Court,)* all previously unpublished. It forms a kind of appendix to the man's work, not terribly important, but extremely pleasant reading nonetheless.

WILLA CATHER, by Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant (Lippincott; $3.50).

Miss Sergeant's gossipy book is frankly, as the title page asserts, a memoir, and nothing more. The author, who was a contributor to the *New Republic* from France, mostly on French themes, in the days when Walter Lippman was one of its editors, met her subject in 1910, when Cather was associated with *McClure's Magazine,* to which Sergeant submitted a "muckracking" article on

Notes on the Critics

HERBERT READ has just arrived in the United States to deliver the Charles Eliot Norton poetry lectures at Harvard University. In the spring, Sir Herbert will deliver the A. W. Mellon lectures in the Fine Arts at the National Gallery in Washington. HARVEY CURTIS WEBSTER is a teacher at the University of Louisville. EUGENE GRESSMAN is a practicing attorney in Washington, D. C. *NR* Contributing Critic KIMON FRIAR is co-editor, with John Malcolm Brinnin, of *Modern Poetry: American and British.* HENRY POPKIN is a member of the faculty of Brandeis University in Boston.

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industrial abuses. She chats along pleasantly enough about their lovely friendship, and their illustrious mutual friends, and presents a fair picture of the social atmosphere of the past forty years or so, but the style is undistinguished and the talk about the novels is far from penetrating. All in all, the author makes Cather appear a much more minor figure than she ever was. R.S.

RIMBAUD'S ILLUMINATIONS, *A Study with a New Translation,* by Wallace Fowlie (Grove; $4).

Mr. Fowlie's beautifully organized and somehow deeply moving study of *Les Illuminations* builds climactically to a discussion of "Angelism," in which Fowlie equates Rimbaud's approach to poetry with the Thomistic doctrine of Angels as beings to whom all causes and effects are constantly clear. The prose-poems themselves are organized by Fowlie according to their apparent subject matter; both the poems and the organization are subjected to a detailed, if conjectural, analysis. Fowlie's excellent translation, which is quite literal, is published with the French text.

THE ENGLISH NOVEL, by Dorothy van Ghent (Rinehart; $4).

Dorothy van Ghent teaches at the University of Vermont, and in her new book, she discusses eighteen of those important standard prose pieces, from *Don Quixote* to *A Portrait of the Artist,* which college students always read with mixed feelings. Her brief essays are informative, elegantly written, and nicely integrated with each other.

CIANO'S HIDDEN DIARY (1937-1938) (Dutton; $4).

Count Galeazzo Ciano's most un-intimate diaries record the greater part of his career as Mussolini's foreign minister. The present volume, which was lost during the last war, concerns the sixteen eventful, catastrophic months which led to the Austrian Anschluss and to Munich, to the adoption of the goose-step and race laws in Italy.

The appalling thing about Ciano's book is not his wickedness, but his naïveté. As a young opportunist whose political career had gone surprisingly well, Ciano gives the illusion of just being along for the ride, with no conception of what he is doing. Following him through his little piece of history is a shattering experience. R.E.

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From Our Readers

► Has War Lost Its Charm?

In "Has War Lost Its Charm?" (*NR*, August 31) you very properly caution the "heirs of Marx and Engels" against using the hydrogen bomb. I certainly agree that "war cannot be the means of settling the conflict between Communism and democracy," nor of the struggle between capitalism and socialism.

But aren't you perhaps warning the wrong heirs, or at least not enough heirs? Who threw the first atomic bomb? Wasn't it the heirs of Adam Smith and Alexander Hamilton? And wasn't it in a mere dispute between capitalist countries? Might they not go farther and use the hydrogen bomb in their intenser struggle with Communism? Shouldn't they be warned too?

I hope that you are right in assuming that our own people need no warning, but how can you be sure?

Washington, D. C. JAMES E. CURRY

► Civil Defense

It is indeed disconcerting, and perhaps a matter for a semantics expert to investigate, to notice the differing connotations attached to the word liberal. I refer to the recent letter from Victor S. Yarros.

Mr. Yarros is doing us all a double disfavor with one literary effort: he equates a weak civil-defense program with "liberalism," and a strong guard against attack with Hearstism. This forms good grapeshot for the McCarthy armory. Any equation of a realistic policy toward a nation so obviously imperialistic and hostile as the Soviet Union with reactionary politics, and the opposite with liberalism, would bear out the Senator's statements.

As for the pseudo-facts presented, Mr. Yarros tells us many postulates, such as "Russia is not preparing for war . . . " which I suppose we are to take for granted, regardless of every knowledge of the Soviets we have. But the polymath Mr. Yarros contradicts Vandenberg, Finletter, Truman, Symington, in these dicta. These experienced leaders do not believe that we are sufficiently prepared, they do not believe that the intentions of the USSR are of milk and honey, they do not believe that we can afford to endanger our security by inadequate civil defense. Are we to listen to them, or the confident, lulling tones of a Mr. Yarros and leave ourselves exposed? When I find that the *NR* agrees with strength instead of weakness, differentiating between liberalism and closing our eyes to the Russian menace, I do not find it a Hearst paper, but an intelligent American publication. Because McCarthy claims to oppose Russia and Communists, it does not mean we then must take the antithetical stand of looking upon them with benevolent smiles. We must, rather, fight both these enemies of democracy with zest and vigor.

Dayton, Ohio ERIC ROTHSTEIN

► Miller, Jowitt and Hiss

I hate to remind those defenders of Alger Hiss who keep cluttering up the *NR* with their swan songs that Hiss has been convicted in the courts of the land.

Mr. Miller in his answer to Felix Albert put it right, I think, when he suggested McCarthyism is the problem to get steamed up about.

Mr. Robert E. Reardon dismisses Mr. Miller's remarks by saying they are "irrelevant and fatuous." Mr. Roger N. Parris said Mr. Miller's review of Lord Jowitt's book and his rebuttal were "ill tempered."

Which all adds up to the fact that everyone is angry and Hiss still remains convicted. I think Mr. Miller is realistic enough to realize there is little point in crying over the crushed flower while a lion is at the door.

Hiss, it appears, was the all-American intellectual and Chambers the super mental prostitute. The federal government put the all-American boy away and Chambers made a tidy sum from his book.

Senator McCarthy jumps on his anti-Communist pogo stick and bounces in the liberal's Garden of Eden, plucking a bit of fruit here and there. The gate keepers are too busy arguing over the injustices of the past to see him.

The gate keepers agree that he is bad but it is safer to battle among themselves over a past event than to face the present and the future.

It is fear that feeds Senator McCarthy's power and it is fear that makes men think the Hiss affair was all a bad dream. It was the very thing the anti-intellectuals, the "old men dragged kicking and screaming into the Twentieth Century" were waiting for. The flood gates were opened and while you damn each other, the new fascism gathers force and tears liberalism to pieces.

Springfield, Mo. GARY ADAMSON

► The letters of Robert E. Reardon, B. L. Buckley and Roger N. Parris in the September 14 *NR* caused me to scurry back with renewed interest to Merle Miller's review of Jord Jowitt's book, *The Strange Case of Alger Hiss.*

This is not "a silly and inconsequential book" (Mr. Miller's words); if it were, the stink that it has raised in the press and elsewhere would be absurd beyond measure. Damningly, Miller complains that the book "if by no means objective" despite the fact that even the jacket blurb advertises it "makes no pretense at being wholly objective." . . .

These letters, however, were just as unfair to Miller as Miller's review was unfair to Lord Jowitt. In ranking Miller with "the pro-Chambers forces," Mr. Parris seems to contend that there is something reprehensible in believing Hiss guilty and overlooks Miller's remark that Chambers was a villain who "publicly wallowed in his infamies."

But the most curious statement of the lot is this from Mr. Buckley's letter: " . . . It does appear that Chambers

(Continued on page 23)

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Mrs. Ruby E. Doerner, vice-chairman of the North Dakota Republican State Committee, offered tips on how to campaign in rural areas. Among her tips was:

"Do not canvass rural areas in Cadillac cars, flashing diamonds, etc. Rural people are interested only in what you can do or try to do for their interests." – *From the Pueblo* Star-Journal, *September 1, 1953.*

"The House Un-American Activities Committee is departing from its usual procedure so that fact may be separated from rumor, and no damage be done Miss Ball," [Rep. Donald L.] Jackson (R-Calif.) said. – *From the Houston* Post, *September 12, 1953.*

"We're getting all the facts and when we've finished then we'll decide on a sales tax," Treasury Secretary George Humphrey said in a speech before the National Press Club. – *From the* Wall Street *Journal, September 17, 1953.*

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To Our Readers

John Mallan reviews this week the strange, self-tortured editorial pages of *Life*. I remember above all the demands for all-out war and the pictures that went with Burnham's articles, showing the grey octopus of the American empire reaching out its tentacles all over the world to fasten on every non-Communist nation. There was a little truth, as always, in Burnham's analysis, and as always he converted the Little Truth into the Big Distortion. I was in Europe when the articles appeared, and I remember how sickened and dismayed the real friends of America were. The Burnham articles seemed to confirm the strongest charges levelled by the Left against America.

Technically, of course, *Life* is magnificent. Its photographs, its printing, its distribution all set new standards for publishing the world over. Its reporting of science and art was always first class. It does not create, as *Time* does, the illusion of knowledge, claiming less and providing more, since photographs are more revealing.

And yet, at the highest level *Life* fails. It lacks humility. At the same time, as Mallan notes, it also lacks confidence in the world of ideas.

It combines a patronizing attitude towards the majority of citizens with a curious hero-worship of the individuals it all but deifies.

It places its tremendous apparatus at the service of pretentious and shallow philosophers.

It raises on colossal pedestals fallible men, and by presenting them as statues, omniscient and omnipotent, it condemns its 20 million readers to constant frustration and bewilderment.

To assert that *Life* has often been wildly wrong is not to argue that we have been right. We make our mistakes. But, in opposition though we criticize, I hope that we will never carry out against any Administration official the merciless job of political character assassination that *Life* did on Secretary Acheson.

No objective would justify *Life's* attacks. *Life's* justification was—destroy Acheson and *containment* will fall. A *Liberation* policy would electrify the world, confound the Kremlin, win bloodless wars. In *Life,* Dulles claimed that a Republican Administration would gain these victories. Last week, in Acheson's place, he told the UN "Our creed does not call for exporting revolution and inciting others to violence." Is hoax too strong a word?

M. S.

LETTERS

(Continued from page 22)

remembered every alias he had used as a Communist except Crosley the name by which he was known to Hiss. This is significant since Chambers' memory appeared letter perfect in every other instance." How does anyone know that Chambers remembered every alias he has used? He may have forgotten many of them and the name Crosley may never have existed outside Hiss' imagination.

I do not see any more justification for Mr. Reardon's assertion that "it is precisely the era of McCarthyism that has sent Hiss to jail and made Chambers the darling of the age" than I do for Merle Miller's statement "that a number of otherwise intelligent liberals . . . have made of Hiss a kind of martyred hero. . . ."

Although I agree with Mr. Miller that "Alger Hiss was fairly tried and justly convicted," I do not attribute guilt complexes, confusion or suspect motives to those who think Hiss is innocent. There is ample room for reasonable doubt. . . .

Perhaps the single inescapable conclusion that can be drawn from this matter is that Mr. Miller is a controversial young man and, therefore, rightly belongs in the pages of the *New Republic.*

Astoria, N. Y. GEORGE MURRAY

► Adlai Stevenson

Such realistic assessment of obstacles in Stevenson's path as Helen Fuller's in the *NR,* August 31, Samuel Grafton's in the July 25th *Collier's,* and Mayor Clark's in the July *Atlantic,* are of value if seen, not as necessarily determinative trends, but as situations about which pro-Stevenson men and women everywhere (and Stevenson himself) can do something. . . .

Given opportunity to speak widely to the *people* of the South, he may yet be seen as one who can hold North and South together. And it will not be, as some suggest, through finesse in ducking controversial issues. He will not "woo" the South, but speak honestly of the values that strengthen both together as a nation. Stevenson appeals to the self-respect of all men and groups because he does not obscure problems: he asks them to do their own thinking, trust their own feeling, make their own evaluations. He presents the facts of an issue in such a way that it becomes possible for all to see the stake of the persons and groups involved, and to judge in terms of consequences to *their* self-respect.

Stevenson outmodes such nonsense as Grafton's, "He will lead without leading—finding a way if he can of doing it on a moral rather than on a political level." True, it is Congressmen who "will do much of the rough and tumble scrimmaging for the Party during the next few years, carrying the ball and making the front pages." But it is not true that "it is a process in which Stevenson will necessarily have little share." He will presently be "carrying the ball" for many Congressmen. He will be effective interpreter and champion of their action to the country. And if anyone in our time exemplifies the inseparability of the moral and political, it is Stevenson—in itself a mighty *political* lever. . . .

Appleton, Wis. CHRISTINE WISE

► "Controlled Press"

In your issue of July 13 you printed a lengthy letter from one William M. Kunstler in which the basic policies and attitude of this newspaper were seriously misrepresented.

In particular, this gentleman asserted that *The Daily Item* and newspapers with which it is affiliated refuse to print letters from readers—meaning particularly, I suppose, letters which disagree with its own editorial policies, in the case of any one of the papers. That is not true and the falsity of it can be demonstrated by reference to our files over a long period of years.

To be sure, we do not print all the letters we receive. Neither, I assume, do you. You must have standards of accuracy and objectivity by which you judge the worthiness of correspondence for publication. So do we. As in your case, those standards have to be applied within the limits of our own judgment.

As to Mr. Kunstler's reference to a "controlled press," the implication there is as unwarranted and as downright childishly silly as if I were to attempt to level any such charge at the *New Republic.*

Port Chester, N. Y. E. J. HUGHES

[Mr. Hughes' letter is welcome but hardly to the point. Mr. Kunstler charged that the *Item* printed on editorial "Why The People Like McCarthy" and then refused to print any letters from people who don't like the Senator. – Ed.]

MAGAZINES

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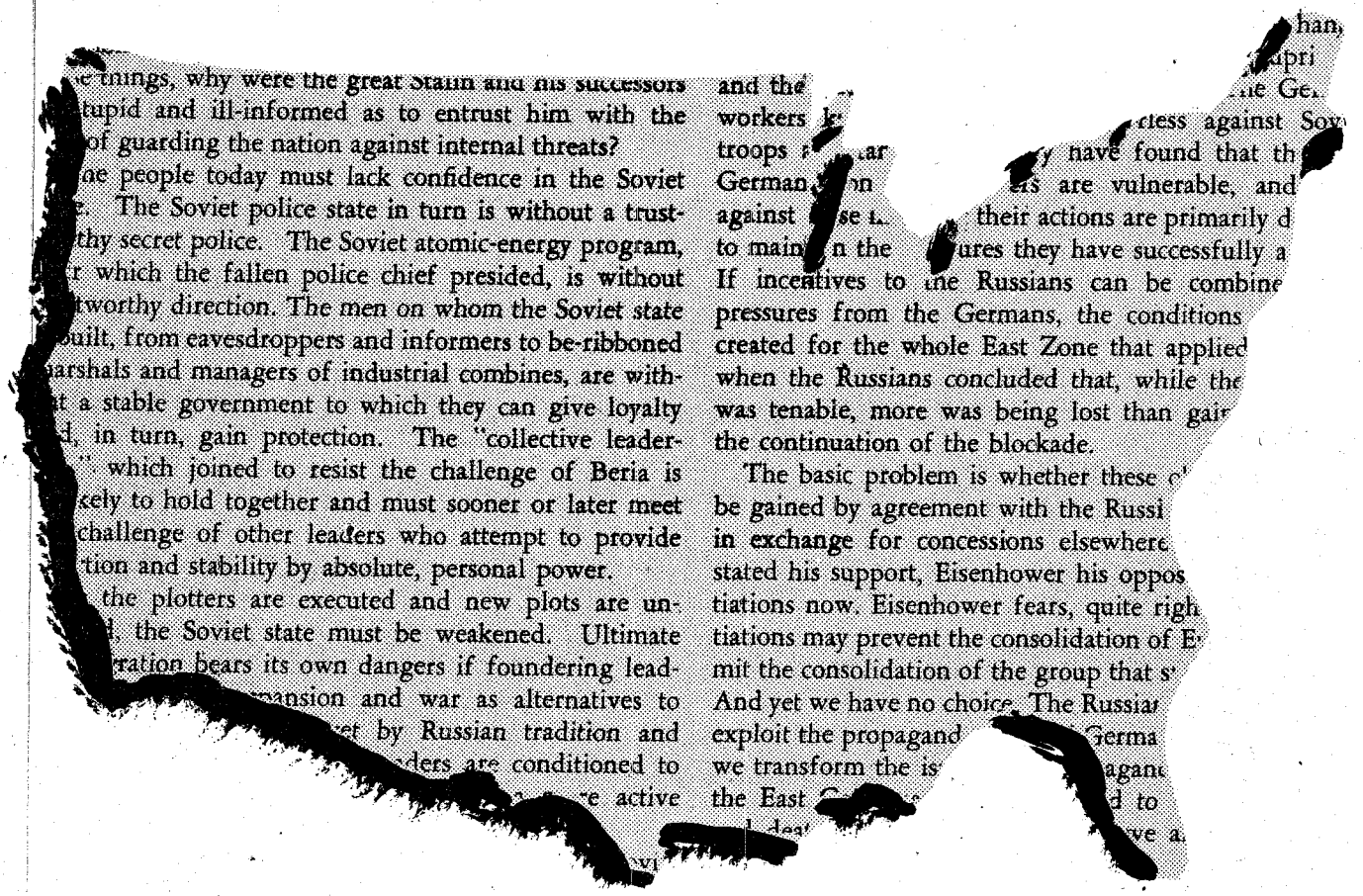

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